

513 or skins. Their descendants, the *Caingang*, rest on large strips of bark or thick layers of palm fronds, but many groups have adopted platform beds.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

- 291 Clothing.—The wild *Caingang* go naked except for a belt—generally a skein of brilliant brown threads of the bark of the young *Philodendron* root or of palm twisted into a cord—and a square cloak (*kurú*) reserved for cold weather (fig. 58, a, b). This garment is passed under the right arm and fastened on the left shoulder so as to leave both arms free. Women wear a short skirt made of caraguatá fibers, secured around the waist by a wide belt of bark dyed a brilliant black. Both sexes wrap strips or strings of peccary hair or of bark around their ankles. Some *Caingang* tie up the foreskin of the penis and tuck it under their belts. On solemn occasions, *Caingang* women who were in contact with the *Guaraní* missions wore a narrow sleeveless shirt (*tipoy*) made of caraguatá fibers. Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 31) reproduces a feather apron which he describes as a women's garment. *Caingang* women are also said to have used a bark band passed between the legs and fastened to the belt.

- 301 Ornaments.—Some *Aweikoma-Caingang* of the State of Santa Catarina and of Rio Grande do Sul wear long rosin labrets like those of their *Guaraní* neighbors. Others have wooden lip sticks (generally made of pine knot) 2 inches ($\frac{3}{4}$ cm.) long "in the shape of a nail." This usage is responsible for the name *Botocudo* given to the *Caingang* in these States.

- 301 Feather ornaments were common among the *Caingang*, but except
292 for the small "visors" of short toucan feathers worn around the fore-
237 head, they are rarely described in our sources. Debret (1941, pls. 11 and 12) has endeavored to represent a "Coroado" (*Caingang*) chief displaying all his ornaments. The chief wears a fan-shaped feather headdress attached to his nape. Long feather tassels are tied to his upper arm and under his knees. The *Caingang* of the State of Paraná don, on festive occasions, a feather cape, that covers them from head to foot (Koenigswald, 1908 b, p. 27). If this ornament actually was used by these Indians, it may well represent a survival of the feather cloaks of the ancient *Guaraní*.

- 301 During dances, men and women often strew down over their heads.
[257] Necklaces of seeds, animal teeth, bird bones, claws, and hoofs were generally slung around the shoulders; those composed entirely of monkey teeth were especially valued. The *Caingang* of Guarapuava and of Misiones had necklaces of small shell disks (*Orthalicus phogers*). Some *Caingang* wore necklaces which weighed nearly 6 pounds!

- 302 Until recently, the *Caingang* wore a circular tonsure on top of the head; the fashion disappeared among adults after their contact with

283 thigh. The threads, wound in a ball, are soaked in water mixed with ashes, then boiled, and again carefully washed; sometimes they are left in running water, so that they become white and flexible. Occasionally, part of the thread is dyed with catigua bark.

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a

b

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c

d

e

f

FIGURE 58.—Caingang manufactures. a, b, Kuvus or bottle-flower disks (redrawn from Koenigswald, 1908 b, figs. 15-16); c, twilled basket (redrawn from Koenigswald, 1908 b, fig. 20); d, wooden mortar in which three pestles are used at the same time (redrawn from Maxham, 1900); e, f, pottery jars (redrawn from Maxham, 1900).

286 Weaving.—Fabrics are woven by hand, sometimes on a simple loom, and always display a stepped, dark design which crosses the surface diagonally (fig. 58, a, b).

323 Ceramics.—For pottery, the Caingang of Misiones use a blackish earth from nearby cliffs. For tempering material, they bake lumps of

of which have been revealed to him by some spirit. A certain grass, 755
 said to be the favorite food of tapirs, is endowed with great medicinal 757
 virtues. It is used not only to cure but also to prevent sickness
 (Henry, 1941, p. 83). Massages play a great part in therapeutics.
 Sometimes these are so violent that the practitioner steps on the
 patient's stomach. The skin is frequently rubbed with pulverized
 barks or plants before the treatment. Burning herbs are used ther-
 apeutically, particularly for wounds. A patient bitten by a snake is
 laid upon a slanting platform over a fire and given warm water to
 drink to make him vomit. Manizer (1930, p. 784) was impressed by
 the number of people whose heads, arms, or legs were swathed in
Philodendron for therapeutic purposes. To lessen fatigue on a long [484]
 walk, the Indians bandage their legs up to the hip with tight braids. [291]
 (On *Caingang* medicine, see Paula Souza, 1918, pp. 750-753.)

Bloodletting, which is practiced with a flint flake or a piece of glass,
 is a common cure for many ailments. Like many Indians, the *Caing-
 gang* treat fever with cold baths. Breathing on the affected spot is a
 common means of assisting a suffering person. Wounds are
 sprinkled with pulverized jaborandy powder.

When illness is caused by the loss of the soul, the patient may re- 753
 cover if appropriate words are spoken to induce the soul to return. 755
 It is often promised food. If the shaman's diagnosis reveals that
 the disease has been brought about by invisible missiles shot by a
 spirit, the cure consists of extracting them with the mouth. This
 procedure, however, was observed only among the *Aweikoma-Cain-
 gang* of Santa Catarina.

Magic practices.—To drive clouds away, old women blow against 789
 the right hand and then wave it toward the clouds, spreading the
 fingers as if to disseminate their breath. When the *Aweikoma-Cain-
 gang* desire rain, they put their mouths to the water and blow. They
 take some in their hands and cry, as they throw it upward, "Look
 here! Do like this." (Henry, 1941, p. 94.) Ashes thrown into a
 river are expected to stop its rise.

Divining.—According to Lozano (1873, 1:427), *Guayaná* shamans 787
 drank maté in order to consult spirits. Answering questions put to [755]
 them by their clients, the shamans always said, "The grass [maté]
 told me this or that." Among modern *Aweikoma*, a man may be
 requested to drink maté and to belch while he is asked questions. A
 strong belch is interpreted as "No" and a weak one as "Yes" (Henry,
 1941, p. 88).

In order to know which animals will be killed and where they will
 be found, the *Aweikoma-Caingang* set fire to a heap of pine-wood char-
 coal. The size of the spark corresponds to an animal species and
 the place where it twinkles indicates where the game will be slain.

of it, or he carefully chops out the root or log until the path is clear; he never leaves a rough edge. 424

The forest has certain little peculiarities whose marks the Indians recognize when they see one of their number come back from the hunt with a bloody eye or a mass of little cuts on his legs. There is a kind of bamboo that the Indians call *kotkolo* which hangs like a vine from trees and whose mark on the human body is so specific that the Indians can always tell when one of them has fallen foul of it. *Kotkolo* has a surface like sandpaper and a long thorn that curves slightly upward like a tiny scimitar. If you escape the thorn the surface may rasp across your face and leave a stinging welt. There is also a tall strong grass that grows in the open places the Indians love so well and that cuts like a knife. No one dares just walk through it; the feet must swing out like scythes to beat it down. 224

The Indians are acutely aware of their mountain forests as something with which they have to struggle and which is full of pain for them. The forest is a mass of vines and thorns that cut and trip; it is alive with insects that suck and torment; and they make no bones about saying so. They divide the forest into "clean places," those in which there are no vines, thorns, or bamboo,—they also call them "pretty places"—and "dirty places," where the tangle is so thick that it obscures the light of day.

In the winter these mountain forests are cold and nights are gray with the mist that rises from the watercourses. The temperature often drops below freezing at night, and not even the thickest clothing will keep out the cold and damp. Yet for generations the only clothing the Indians had was a knee-length netlike robe of plant fiber, worn about the waist by the women, and a closely woven shirt of the same material, reaching to the hips, worn by the men in the winter. When they began to raid the Brazilians they stole vests and blankets and it was common to see an Indian naked except for a little belt around his waist to tie up his penis—and a vest. The vest kept the torso warm while it allowed freedom of motion to the arms. The Kaingang never do anything more with an animal skin than make soup of it, and before they had blankets and vests they simply spread a few fern fronds on the ground at night and lay down on them to sleep, pulling a net-like robe over themselves if they were so fortunate as to possess one. 132
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On winter nights they are miserable and often get up to warm themselves by the fire. One morning in May as I warmed my aching joints by the fire and watched my breath spiral upward, Chukembégn said to me: "Last night I slept all over the place. It was so cold nobody slept." Sometimes they fall asleep sitting by the fire, their arms on their drawn-up knees, their heads sunk forward. The scarcity of blankets brings the young men together in the sleeping parties they love, when a half dozen of them, 513
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It may be that the use of the leg instead of the thigh is due in the case of men to their wearing trousers and in the case of women to their unwillingness, since they have begun to wear dresses, to impair their newly acquired modesty by lifting them above their knees. 283 832 291 ●

A KAINGÁNG BRIDGE

Two trees (A and B) are felled on opposite banks of the stream so that they will fall into it, and posts (C) are sunk on the downstream side to keep the trees from being carried away. A third log (D) is lashed to A and B just above the surface of the water. Then three sets of tall uprights (E) are sunk into the stream bed on either side of A and B and tied together at the top. At the bottom they are united by horizontal boughs (F) that pass across the top of D. A bough (G) is laid on either side of D and lashed to F. These structures, D and G, form the gangway. Now railings are made by tying long boughs (H) to E on both sides. 491

Ornaments

Lip Plugs

The Kaingáng no longer wear lip plugs. These were usually made from pine knots but some men preferred beef bone.²⁸ Still others liked to slip a fine deer bone over the pine-knot plug. There was a considerable amount of individual variation in the shape of the plugs, and the members of some extended families were distinguished by the shape of their lip plugs. 304 596

Dance Ornaments

These are made only for baby blackenings. 293

kondjidin are, as the name implies, sticks about three feet long covered with feathers and stuck in the ground around the dance circle. Near the top they are provided with a tiny plaited square or disk and are usually surmounted by feathers. In making these ornaments the men do not try to surpass one another in originality, and all the *kondjidin* are very much alike. The most striking innovation at the blackening that I witnessed was that of Chukembégn, who put the tail of a tesoureiro on top of his *kondjidin* instead of the usual feather. 301

Lu are made of small basketlike objects set on the ends of poles about thirty feet long and set up on the dance ground. As the festivities mount they are lifted out of their holes and carried around on the shoulders of the men.

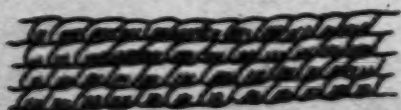
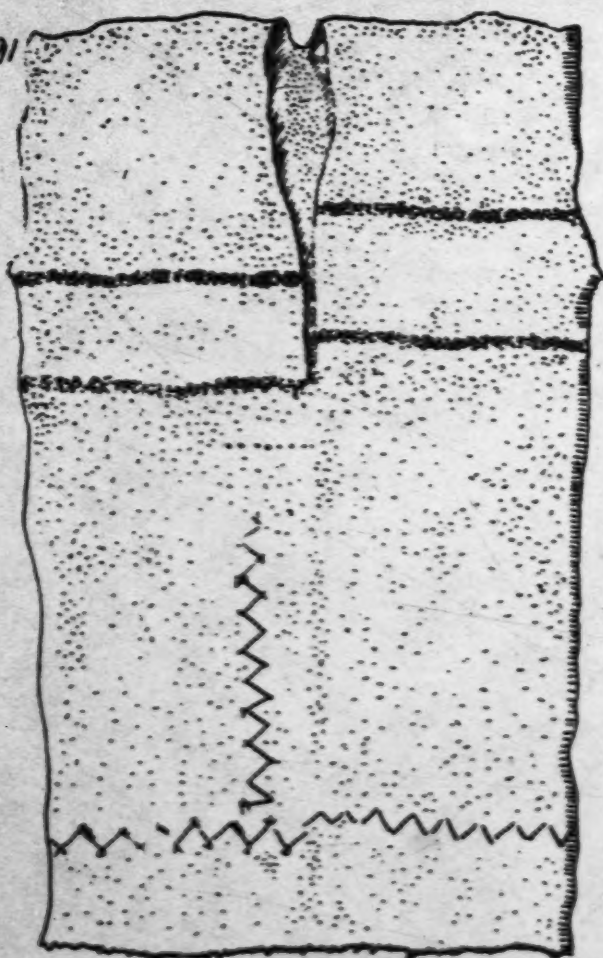
Smaller *lu*, about eight inches long, are held in the hand.

²⁸ Obtained from cattle killed in raids on the Brazilians.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

● 291



Shirt

[facing p. 204]

342 shelters holds several couples belonging to the same family. Each couple has its own fire in the center of the hut. These shelters, like the smaller ones, remain open laterally about one meter from the ground.

Inside the shelter, on either side, a broad earth shelf is laid to serve as a pillow.

[123] The floor of the hut is completely covered with fern leaves. The related couples lie down upon it to sleep side by side, their head on the elevated earth shelf and their feet toward the fire.

352 Weapons, baskets, clothes and utensils are hung from the ceiling of the shelter, and smaller objects are kept in the thatch.

● 291 The warriors' attire consists of several "loin cords" which they use as belts and which are ornaments rather than true breechcloths.

[283] These cords, called maséna, are braided in two varieties: dark, made of imbó liana bark fibers; and white, made of palm fibers.

The same palm fiber cords are also worn tightly fastened above the ankles.

The women's attire consists of an apron 1.60 meters in width and 1.50 meters in length.

It does not take them long to dress, for they simply fold the apron in two and wrap it around the waist.

[284] These aprons are woven with the fiber of a special kind of wild
[281] nettle, and adorned with linear figures drawn preferably in red or blue.

302 Their hair is cut on the forehead in a semicircle which extends to the parietal region, where it is shaved at an acute angle toward the ear. In the back it is clipped above the shoulders. An even circle five centimeters in diameter is shaved on the crown and kept in good trim.

This hairdo is worn by all adults, male and female.

301 On festive occasions the warriors make headdresses with the
292 feathers of a bird they call cocolina (Aquila?), which they connect
287 by means of a network of thin [123] embira fibers. When decked in these ornaments, their head, face and chest painted with red and black stripes, they acquire a very impressive appearance.

On these formal occasions, the women and a few of the warriors tangle into their hair the delicate multicolored feathers of various small birds.